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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the work of, and the problems associated with, the bi-lingual psychologists whom the Chicago public schools employ to serve children who speak little or no English, and the teachers and administrators of the schools in which these children are enrolled. As introduction, the paper briefly sketches the total psychological program of the 150 psychologists who serve almost a half million children. The bi-lingual psychologist, native to a Spanish speaking area and fluent in English, makes his special contributions through his accurate assessment of the abilities and achievements of Spanish speaking children, through correcting previous, perhaps erroneous, assessments, through interpreting the needs and the cultural and emotional patterns of Latin children and parents to school people, through assisting in the planning of more effective educational patterns of service, and in evaluating the effectiveness of programs in progress, Difficulties in recruitment of qualified bi-lingual psychologists and uncertainties in the varied federal support plans have limited the effective use of such persons to a few areas of severe need. Needs for the future include: (1) great expansion of numbers of truly bi-lingual psychologists; (2) upgrading of qualifications; (3) use of the bi-lingual psychologists in formal and informal in-service training of teachers, administrators and Anglo psychologists; and, (4) broadening of the outlook and functions of the bi-lingual psychology staff. (Author/JM)

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PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES TO SPANISH SPEAKINC CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO

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PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES TO SPANISH SPEAKING CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO

The USA is a nation of immigrants, and Chicago a conspicuous example of the melting pot of former generations. Over many years our citizens have come from further and further corners of the globe, each new group settling in its own district, where they found compatriots, where they could build their own national and linguistic churches and parochial schools, - and where each successive wave of a different nationality in a generation or two became a political force in the city. Fifty years ago the Irish, Swedes and Germans were well assimilated, but the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Hungarians, Greeks, Slavs, or Russians were conspicuous groups whose children entered school at age six with almost no English, or if they attended a parochial elementary school often entered a public high school with heavily accented, inaccurate English, reading and writing English with so much difficulty that they soon dropped out.

The philosophy of the school and of the community that half century ago was predominantly of the "melting pot". The duty of the school was to fit children into the American mold as rapidly as possible. It was assumed that children without formal help from the school would learn English from their school-mates and later from community and job participation.

It didn't always work that way, at least not very successfully, but that was considered to be the fault of a "lazy, obstinate" youngster, not the fault of the school. Too many were made to feel that they were "dumb" and that education was hopeless. Hating school, they became truants and street corner drop-outs long before the legal age of leaving school. Fortunately their families, churches, community newspapers, social and recreational and athletic groups helped them preserve pride in their backgrounds. As each group rose from poverty into the main stream of the city's life and eventually into positions of power and influence, each national group looked down on a newer wave of immigrants,

and made the newcomers feel as unwanted, as uneducated, as "dumb" as they or their parents had felt a generation before.

More recently throughout the USA great efforts are being made to change this. Schools are being charged with the responsibility of giving real help to the school child with language difficulties or cultural adjustment problems. Ethnic communities demand such services, the federal government has provided considerable though insufficient support for the extra costs. By helping the bi-lingual or bi-cultural child make a transition to American ways of life and while maintaining values of his native culture and language, it is hoped that the community will be relieved of some of its social and economic problems. In many cities, including Chicago today, Spanish-speaking children form the largest of the current non-English speaking groups, though the numbers of Polish, Chinese, and other nationalities are significant. The Chicago public schools, with a total enrollment of more than half a million in September, 1972, had 62,000 children with Spanish surnames, 11 percent of the total enrollment. Other non-English speaking groups of newcomers included last year more than a thousand each of Greeks, Italians and Poles, 741 Chinese and many others from Albania to Vietnam.

Of the Spanish-surnamed children, 45% are from Puerto Rico, 43% from Mexico, 5% from Cuba, and 6¼% from other countries of Central and South America. Not all, but a considerable number of these children are in sore need of special help if they are to adjust to the American school system and the American way of life. One study showed 39,000 of the 62,000 children used Spanish as a first language, with varying degrees of competence in English as a second language, ranging down to 0 competence.

The Puerto Rican group has shown most dramatic and rapid increase. In 1950 Chicago census showed almost no Puerto Ricans (only 200). Ten years later there were 36,000; in 1970, 100,000. Naturally these families concentrate in certain

school districts, with considerable separation of the Mexican and Puerto Rican groups. Even so, approximately one third of our 600 schools had Latin enrollments of 10% or more, some of course close to 100%.

Chicago is one of the few cities in the USA where Mexican and Puerto Rican children are present in almost equal numbers. Chicago has more Puerto Ricans than any city except New York, more Mexican-Americans than any city outside the southwest. This aggravates the difficulties of serving and satisfying each group of Latins, because of the distinct cultural and language differences, and the frictions between the groups. The Cubans, though in smaller numbers in Chicago, tend to look down on and avoid associating with either the Mexicans or Puerto Ricans.

Following the pattern of black agitation, the Latins in Chicago as in many American cities, frequently and vociferously demand schools with all Latin teachers, a Latin principal, a Latin district superintendent, at times with more emotion than rationality. A Mexican community sometimes refuses to accept a Puerto Rican teacher, and vice versa. A Mexican child or parent will sometimes accuse a Puerto Rican teacher of prejudice or injustice more vigorously and with more emotion than he would use against a white or black Anglo-teacher. Communities have demanded the transfer out of their school of a principal or teachers, Spanish-speaking or not, on the basis of emotional blowups over some minor misunderstanding or the unverified story of one child, ignoring the devoted efforts that same teacher or principal may have been making to meet the needs of children as he or she sees them. Politicians have been known to deliberately fan what would have been minor incidents into community strikes or violence to increase their personal visibility as a community leader, -- a technique easy to employ where there are legitimate grievances, some in the schools, but most, like housing and employment, not in the province of the school.

Teachers.

Chicago's 30,000 teachers include persons of all the national and racial groups of its population. Last year there were 38 teachers from Cuba, 134 from Mexico, and probably well over 300 from Puerto Ricans. (The latter group does not show up in the statistics because they are born in the USA.) These 500 Chicago teachers who speak Spanish as a native language are not all placed in schools in Latin neighborhoods, but they do provide a pool from which the staff of the new bi-lingual schools and other special programs are drawn.

Psychologists.

Unfortunately, the situation is very different in psychology. Spanish-speaking psychologists, able to meet the requirements of state and city for positions on the staff of the Bureau of Child Study, the new special projects for the disadvantaged, or the bi-lingual, are extremely difficult to find and keep. Chicago schools employ approximately 150 psychologists. If the percentage of bi-lingual psychologists could be proportionate to the number of bi-lingual or non-English speaking children, some 11% of these should be of Latin origin. Two years ago a Bi-Lingual Psychology Division was established, directed by a Puerto Rican psychologist with a master's from Columbia and a doctorate from Purdue, with a budget for possibly 12 bi-lingual psychologists. So far it has proven impossible to recruit and keep more than three or four qualified persons at a time. The schools compete at a salary disadvantage with a variety of community agencies, clinics, and social programs who employ bi-lingual psychologists in programs designed to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking communities in the city. Although US citizenship is no longer an essential for temporary hiring, the requirements laid down by the state for school psychologists are so specific that it is almost impossible for the candidate to meet them unless a substantial portion of his graduate training has been acquired in the USA.

General program of school psychology.

To help the reader understand the work of the bi-lingual psychologists, it is necessary to sketch the general program of school psychology in Chicago, typical of many other cities. A very large percentage of the time of the 150 school psychologists in Chicago is devoted to individual case studies in the areas of suspected mental retardation, emotional disturbance, delinquency, brain injury or brain disfunction, perceptual handicaps, or special talents, for the purpose among other things, of recommending placement in special programs of service to the handicapped or the gifted, or removal of a child from such programs, as well as specific recommendations for teaching and other treatment. These diagnoses are recognized not as routine processes, but as complex and important. The psychologist, Anglo or bi-lingual, is expected to recognize and allow for the emotional, linguistic, physical, or social factors which may depress performance on individual intelligence scales or achievement measures.

Many other responsibilities have devolved upon Chicago's school psychologists. Psychologists avoid the word "therapy" in describing their activities but they cannot avoid the responsibility for guiding, consulting, counseling. Both in the diagnostic process itself and in the interpretation of results, they involve school staff, social workers, physicians, probation officers, parents, or whoever has insights and influence, sometimes the older child himself. They may endeavor, with the help of others, to secure changes in the school or home environment of the child, including changes in the attitudes of those closest to him, as well more physical changes. Efforts to change the child's own attitudes and goals may be directed to the child, or the teacher, principal, parent or community agency or person. To make effective referrals they need to know the resources of the local community and the city as a whole, whether medical,

social, vocational or recreational.

School psychologists in Chicago over the years have been instrumental in suggesting and helping the school initiate a variety of new programs, try out various techniques of individual instruction or open school plans, or programs of parent and community cooperation. In the past 15 years, with the proliferation of federal projects aimed at developing innovative approaches through which hopefully the schools might make optimal contribution to the solution of social, economic or racial problems of the community, psychologists have participated fruitfully in program planning and design and in evaluation of new programs.

A psychologist typically serves several schools. Practically all diagnostic work, except some of the most specialized and technical examinations, are performed in the school, where the nature of the child's problems can be seen at first hand, where the psychologist can interact with the staff and the parent in his search for the additional light on the diagnosis and cooperative development of plans for the child, parent, or teacher.

Mental retardation.

It is frequently assumed that some two and one-half to three per cent of all school children are retarded to a degree that they will profit from special education programs for the educable or trainable levels of retardation (50-75, or 35-50 I.Q. respectively). On this basis we might expect some 14,000 Chicago children to be so diagnosed; actually about 10,000 are receiving such special help. On the same basis, therefore, we would expect that perhaps 150 of the 6200 Latin children would be found to be retarded, but here the actual number identified by psychologists is found to be considerably larger than the expected percentage, -- as is also the case for blacks. Legitimately, black groups across the nation have for 20 years been vigorously, not to say violently, attacking the use of psychological tests to label their children as retarded;

more recently Latin groups have joined the protest. Court actions have been successful in California and elsewhere in stopping schools from using psychological tests as a sole criterion for placing a child in a special program for the retarded. All an alert lawyer had to do was to read psychological literature of the past quarter century to find published research questioning the validity of such testing.

Also, to understand the work of a bi-lingual psychologist we must sketch some of the varied new educational programs for the language minorities. They include:

1) TESL, or Teaching English as a Second Language.

This is the most wide spread. The TESL teacher does not attempt to supplant the child's native language but to help him learn English as a second language. She uses linguistic, oral methods of language instruction. The federal government has for some years provided funds for training teachers, fluent in a native language, usually Spanish, in these methods, and has also provided special funds to enable schools to add TESL teachers to their usual staffs where needed.

Typically the TESL teacher has a small clinic room in the school, where she takes very small groups of children, perhaps 3 or 6 at a time of similar age and language needs. She uses conversation and recreational linguistic games. The child comes to her for perhaps 40 minutes a day, spending the rest of his school day studying reading, arithmetic, social studies, et al, under an English-speaking teacher in a regular class. The TESL program increases both the speed and accuracy with which the child assimilates the language of his Anglo classmates. Chicago has a substantial corps of such teachers, a few attached full time to one school, others visiting several schools on part-time schedules, reaching more than 3000 Spanish speaking children.

In a variation of this TESL program, four schools in Chicago are designated as "Orientation and Language Development Centers", to provide more intensive in-

struction in English to students 10 - 17 years of age, who have been in the country less than a year. TESL teachers in these centers spend more time per pupil, seeing them in groups of up to 15, and sometimes work in team teaching relationship with an Anglo classroom teacher. The centers are open 12 months a year, with a goal of returning students to regular grades as rapidly as increased English language permits.

Another variation is TESL on Wheels. Three mobile language instruction laboratories are housed in large vans which can be driven from school to school. Each van has seats and equipment for 15 students and provides 90 minutes of intensive instruction in English as a second language to several groups of students.

All these TESL teachers are assisted by a central city bureau responsible for their in-service training and for producing curricular and instructional materials to aid them.

There is evidence of very considerable success for the TESL programs, but some educators have been concerned that it gives no attention to curricular needs of the learner other than the English language.

2) Interdisciplinary Approach.

A second general way of meeting the needs of children with language handicaps is called the "Interdisciplinary Approach". It combines subject matter instruction in Spanish part of the day with the second language instruction. In other words, the TESL teacher uses curriculum content from the regular curriculum as a basis for her language instruction, thus helping the child in social studies, science, et al, as well as in English. Such programs were pioneered in New Mexico and Texas in 1966, and more highly developed in Michigan in 1968 and Chicago in 1970. The special curricular materials in the child's native language are developed and used by both the TESL teacher and the Anglo teacher of a regular classroom.

In Chicago one interdisciplinary program includes two teen-age centers for Basic Occupational Skill Training, where special reading materials in Spanish are provided for guidance and vocational training. The class environment simulates job situations with a goal of teaching students to work together and to experience success. The adolescent's progress in learning English is speeded through his use of curriculum materials in English of definite interest to him. Four schools are involved in a "Curriculum Adaptation Network for Bicultural-Bi-lingual Education", with special funds and personnel to work on adapting the materials and methods produced in the Miami Spanish Curriculum center to meet Chicago needs.

This approach has also been criticized since the curricular materials are directly related to the usual curriculum of the Chicago schools, and disregard the culture of the child's family and nationality.

3) Bi-lingual, Bi-cultural Education

Bi-lingual, bi-cultural education is the designation of a third approach which has a quite different philosophy and program from those described up to this point. Its premises are: 1) it is good for a child to be bi-lingual, 2) the Latin child inherits a culture with many values that should not be lost, 3) the American-born child can profit from learning Spanish and coming to understand the culture of his Latin playmates. Thus the philosophy is not to teach the Latin child English in the shortest possible time, but to provide an integrated program of education in which both Latin and Anglo children can become bilingual and learn to appreciate each other's cultures.

Before 1960 such bi-lingual education existed only in a few un-noticed ethnic community schools. In 1963, some schools in Miami pioneered bi-lingual education, having secured public and private foundation funds to develop a program for Cuban arrivals. In 1966 Texas experimented in a country district, in a city district, and on a Navajo Indian reservation. Within a year because of the felt needs in many communities,bi-lingual programs had been watched and copied, and 21 states had at

least experimental programs, in Spanish, Portuguese or French, and 80,000 Indian children on reservations were involved. In one more year, 1968, the BiLingual Education Act became Title VII of the Federal Education Law. It encourages the use of the child's native language in school, with a stated goal of real literacy in both languages. Illinois state law and funds followed in 1970.

In Chicago the outstanding example of this philosophy is found in a school renamed Morel Campos, after the well known Latin poet. It was opened in 1970 under the direction of a devoted and enthusiastic principal who has guided it ever since, an Anglo woman who speaks Spanish fluently and has recruited a dedicated staff, all bi-lingual. Half the instruction is given in English and half in Spanish, in different classes. Efforts to enroll Anglo students wishing to learn Spanish have been partially successful, though not as much so as had been hoped. Currently 8 Anglos are enrolled; they and their families are enthusiastic and it is hoped the number can be increased to provide a closer equality of Anglo and Latin enrollment.

Pupils range from 11 to 17 years, and from grades 6 to 8. Enrollment is not seen as a temporary measure to be followed as rapidly as possible by transfer to a regular school. Rather it is seen as providing additional benefits over the regular school and a permanent program leading to graduation and transfer to a high school. The staff are convinced that the children learn English rapidly and make as good progress in the traditional school subjects of arithmetic, social studies, science and English as they would in a regular school, while having the added advantage of maintaining their Latin culture and extending their knowledge of the history, geography, literature, music of the Latin countries of the world. Data from group achievement tests lend some justification to this confidence, though the well known problems of equating experimental and control groups, of allowing for differences of age, length of residence in

the USA, intelligence and other factors make comparative evaluation as difficult in this situation as in most school situations. It is easy to pick flaws in the statistically derived comparisons.

Several other school programs in Chicago are designated as bilingual and make varying degrees of compromise between the TESL objectives or rapid teaching of English and rapid adjustment to the regular program and the objectives of bi-cultural education. These programs include four pre-school education centers, where Spanish speaking tots from 3-6 years of age are enrolled. Mothers are required to attend two days a week; many come 5 days of their own volition. The women learn English while studying cooking, sewing, marketing, embroidery and crafts. They particularly enjoy physical education which takes the form of Yoga exercises in two centers.

No psychological program is attached to these centers, but as a child becomes old enough for kindergarten or first grade, if there appears some evidence of retardation, perceptual difficulty, or emotional disturbance, a psychologist from the receiving regular school may be asked to make an evaluation. More often the child will be held back a year or two.

Other bi-lingual centers add after school and evening programs for children and adults to their day time programs. At the Salazar Community Center, for example, there is a pre-school program for infants and mothers during school hours. After school hours, school age children from regular elementary or high schools come for several hours instruction in intensive language and bi-cultural programs. In the evening, adult men and women come for a variety of special subjects and classes, including TESL instruction in English, and classes on many practical problems of community and employment interest.

SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGY FOR THE LATIN CHILD. Across the USA, some middle sized cities like Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, as well as Chicago, New York, Miami and the southwest have specific groups of bi-lingual psychologists, but many others do not. Bi-lingual psychological services have lagged behind the development of educational efforts to meet the needs of Latin newcomers.

Where there are no bi-lingual psychologists, or not enough, the Anglo psychologists in communities with many Latin children have necessarily become much aware of the problem and have done much to improve their services. Convention programs of the national, regional and state psychological associations offer many papers and workshops on the problem. Symptomatic of the degree of interest, the Midwest regional meetings of the School Psychology Division of APA in November 1972 devoted a considerable part of its program to the problem of working with non-English speaking children.

The Eastern Regional Group of the same organization held a 6-day workshop in Puerto Rico in April 1973 which drew many Anglo as well as bi-lingual psychologists from the East Coast. Two of its four workshops were devoted to counseling, therapy and assessment of Spanish-speaking clients.

In these meetings, in the literature, and in in-service training programs in local school systems, Anglo psychologists endeavor to increase their potential for helping the Latin child and the school in which he appears. More cities, like Chicago, are trying to find qualified bi-lingual psychologists to add to their staffs.

Testing materials still present a real problem. Direct translations of English language tests, with varying degrees of modification and adaptation to the culture as well as the language of the target group have proliferated, but apparently all too few have been adequately restandardized on populations

appropriate to the use they are to be put to. Chicago bi-lingual psychologists depend heavily on Puerto Rican adaptations, not only of the WISC but of other measurement instruments. Psychologists from universities in Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and California, among others, have secured grants to develop and standardize new instruments, but the currently available material is still inadequate.

As long ago as 1953, Dr. Anne Anastasia, a distinguished American psychologist who recently became one of the few women ever to be elected president of the American Psychological Association, published research suggesting that for pre-school Spanish speaking children, scores on the Non-Verbal IQ tests did not correlate very highly with the language development of the child. The Inter-American series of Tests of General Ability, and of Spanish and English school achievement originated in research of the American Council of Education for use in Puerto Rico were first published in 1950 and are now published in a 1959 edition by GTA of Austin, Texas. Research on these materials over the years 1959-66 by H. T. Manuel of Texas, has provided tentative norms for Puerto Rico, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Chile, Miami and the Southwest USA, but the publisher still states:

> "The Inter-American series is recommended for use primarily with local and regional norms to be developed by the test user. The series of tests is so extensive and the geographic areas in which they are to be used are so varied that only limited reference data can be provided by the publisher."

Chicago bi-lingual psychologists use some of these tests, chiefly with Puerto Rican norms, but hope to develop Chicago norms when time and funds permit.

Bi-lingual psychologists for their own use prefer an individual test and use most frequently the Puerto Rican adaptations of the WISC and WAIS.

The 1972 revisions and norms of the Wechsler tests (edited by J. Matarazzo of Portland, Oregon), give new norms and an extensive bibliography of Latin uses..

Horacio Rimoldi's translation of the instructions for the Raven progressive Matrices, published in Buenos Aires, is found useful.

Dr. Miguelina Hernandez, Director of Chicago's bi-lingual program has translated and is revising her adaptation of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test developed by Lloyd Dunn of Tennessee in connection with his work with negro and white American children, in an effort to develop tests fairer to black and other underprivileged children in the USA.

Much work has been done, but the problem of test construction and standardization for Spanish speaking children from different backgrounds is far from solved.

A conscientious Anglo psychologist tries to make allowances for the language handicap of the child he is asked to diagnose. He may depend largely on performance tests and personality instruments. On a WISC for example, he may omit some verbal tests and prorate the scores on the remaining subtests, or make other compromises. Obviously he has difficulty determining whether a child's failure on a given item is due to lack of ability, or lack of comprehension of what is asked. The bi-lingual psychologist can give the child much greater understanding of what the test situation requires, and beyond that can establish rapport and put the child at ease, thus often reporting far higher I.Q.'s and other test scores than the Anglo psychologist.

Even without language handicaps, retests over a period of years by competent psychologists have often shown dramatic, frightening variations, especially where emotional, social, or other problems are involved. The

bi-lingual psychologist retesting a Spanish speaking child who, though in the USA for several years, does not have perfect comprehension of English, quite naturally often finds scores much higher than those previously reported. In the files of Chicago bi-lingual psychologists are numerous children whose WISC or Binet I.Q.'s have increased from 77 to 97, from 57 to 93, from 68 to 91.

To the bi-lingual psychologist it seems self evident that the discrepancy is due to his later, more accurate testing in the child's native tongue. To the school and the classroom teachers who have been struggling unsuccessfully to teach the child, who perhaps have seen him become more hostile and uncooperative as he moved toward or into adolescence, the earlier IQ may appear obviously more accurate. These differences of opinion are handled carefully by the bi-lingual psychologist.

The psychologist remembers perhaps that this teacher has been successful with other Spanish-speaking children, has already tried a variety of approaches and wants the child to learn, even though he has so far been unable to reach the student. The psychologist can not merely insist that the child is really bright and needs more challenging assignments. Rather he and the teacher explore together, trying to work out what went wrong, what materials or approaches are likely to be of help now. Written reports which appear to blame the teacher and the school provide little practical help and have little likelihood of resulting in a better program for the child. The psychologist, especially in the bi-lingual programs, must take time for leisurely conferences with school personnel, for discussions together on possible reasons for a girl's or a boy's rebellion or apathy, on the child's interests that might be utilized in the classroom, on materials in Spanish or at English grade levels at which the child can be successful, or utilization of another Latin child as a tutor and assistant, on giving the

problem youngster responsibility for helping a much younger newcomer. Most of all he tries to show confidence in the teacher; he comes back next week and next month for chats that look for some point of progress on which the teacher can be praised.

Particularly the bi-lingual psychologist with his understanding of the attitudes, behavior and feelings of his countrymen, makes specific contribution to the teacher's understanding. Even gestures may have different meanings for the teacher and child. Many Spanish children, especially peasants, when reprimanded, are taught to hang down their heads and look down as a sign of respect. The Anglo teacher may interpret this as fear to look her in the eye, as a shifty way of avoiding responsibility, even as disrespect.

In the increasing belligerence of some Latin community leaders and parents, the bi-lingual psychologist also plays a difficult but useful role. Community leaders, sometimes very leftist and mainly interested in disruptive action, build on real grievances to aggravate misunderstandings, influencing both parents and older boys and girls. The bi-lingual psychologist, recognizing the basic good will of his Anglo colleagues in the schools has sometimes been very useful to both sides of a dispute.

Referrals. A review was made of the referral slips received by the office of bi-lingual psychologists over recent months. These referral sheets contain a statement of the reason for requesting the psychological study, formulated by the principal of the child's school, a description of the child's behavior patterns in the words of the classroom teacher, school history and test data, and sometimes IQ results from previous psychological study, usually by an English speaking psychologist.

The age range of the children referred was from 4 to 18, with few below 5 or above 16. Although every age was represented, there were more at ages 5, 6, 7 and again at ages 12 - 16 than in betwee Some of the children were truly newcomers having been enrolled in a Chicago school only a month or so before the study was requested, others had been in the city schools five or more years, still presenting learning and behavior problems. Some later found to be of average intelligence had been in rooms for the mentally retarded for a number of years, on the basis of earlier diagnoses by English-speaking psychologists.

Rather oddly, the numbers of boys and girls were almost equal, although in general boys are referred to our psychologists twice as often as girls. Also, if we crudely classify the behavior described into two categories of "aggressive hostile behavior" as against "quiet, shy, uncommunicative" (including in the latter those for whom no unusual behavior was reported) we find only half the boys and less than half the girls falling into the aggressive hostile category, whereas in total referrals to all school psychologists, disruptive behavior is mentioned far more frequently, in fact in up to 75% of the cases.

Practically all the referrals show the children achieving far below grade or age expectancy and reflect the frustration of teachers who are having no success in teaching the child, -- this being the major reason why a child is referred to a psychologist.

School Placement and History. The children referred from kindergarten or first grade had of course usually been known to the school but a short time. Some had already been placed a year or more below their age level: 6-year-olds in kindergarten; 7-year-olds in first grade, or had been demoted after a trial in the more appropriate higher grade. A few of these had already had TESL teaching, or had been in a bi-lingual pre-school pro-

gram but if so, the special teachers as well as the class teacher frequently reported frustration and inability to reach the child.

Of the older children, some were in EMH classes referred for more or less routine rechecking as required by state law. One girl found to have average intelligence had been in a class for the retarded for five years. Others had been demoted as much as four years when they entered the school system. One girl who came from Mexico with records showing placement in the 7th grade, was placed in 3rd grade because she knew no English and in the four years since had been double promoted only once, so that at 16 she was still in 8th grade, instead of in high school where she belonged. Most of the children in regular grades were placed one or two years below their age level because of their inability to cope with the academic demands of the higher grade.

Case Studies. Naturally with the acute shortage of bi-lingual psychologists many of the children referred could not be seen by the specialist. Sometimes a phone call or brief conference at the school enabled the psychologist to make some suggestions useful to the school, parent, or child. More often the case remained in a pending file more or less indefinitely. If the child was already in a bi-lingual center, he would doubtless wait until the Spanish speaking psychologist could find time for him. If he was in a regular school, and presented a serious problem to the teachers, an English speaking psychologist would probably give such performance and personality tests and make such estimates of ability and needs as might be possible - - as they have been doing for the past 75 years.

The intelligence tests most used by the bi-lingual psychologists included the Puerto Rican forms of the WISC for the younger, and the WAIS for the older children. Widely used were Bender Gestalt, Goodenough, Draw a Man, or HTP, personality factors, paper and pencil tests to determine the grade

level of the child's achievement in English, arithmetic, et al. In high school some occupational or vocational aptitude tests might be used. All children in Chicago schools are given Metropolitan Readiness tests at kindergarten or first grade, and group achievement tests at 1st, 4th, 8th and 11th grades. The psychologist might use or record these scores, but retests the child in the more comfortable situation of the clinic where confidence has been established.

Recommendations made included:

1) changes in school placement: transfer into or out of special programs for the retarded, the emotionally disturbed, the educationally handicapped, one of the bi-lingual programs, rapid advancement to a higher grade or to high school.
2) referrals for more intensive diagnosis for perceptual or emotional problems, or brain dysfunction, by other specialized school psychologists or by physicians, clinics, et al
3) counseling of child and parent within the local school or referral to school or community agencies for family, social or group counseling, for career guidance for the older boys and girls, for parental counseling related to the younger ones.
4) Conferences might be set up with welfare workers in contact with a family, or with medical or psychiatric clinics in which the child or family were registered, with police or probation officers if the child had had problems with the law.
5) Specific classroom techniques or materials, or general suggestions on the emotional, social, or physical factors which the teacher should recognize in planning further education.

These and all the gamut of recommendations which might be found in Anglo as well as bi-lingual case studies are usually worked out with the teacher

or school, in team or individual conferences, before they are reduced to cold type. Extensive counseling of the child or parent by the psychologist in a continuing relationship is impracticable because of the shortage of psychological time.

An area of vital service in which school psychologists are currently far too seldom employed is that of evaluation of educational programs. In this paper a glimpse has been given of the profusion of programs and techniques being tried in the field of service to the language handicapped child. Currently the prospects are for rapid withdrawal of funds from the federal government under the Nixon cutbacks. Educators in Chicago seem to feel confident that the Latin programs have so much local and public support and are so much needed that funding will continue from state and local sources. However, even this change suggests that there will be reorganization, simplification or consolidation of programs, likely to result in a scramble for place and competition between different programs.

In Chicago, the bi-lingual programs are currently evaluated by:

1) pre and post group testing of the children on English language skills, Spanish language, and subject matter achievement. Utilized are both teacher-made and standardized tests in English or Spanish editions, depending on the abilities and educational status of the children.
2) Questionnaires to parents and community persons.
3) Team visitation: A team of persons not from the school or center being evaluated is selected (one teacher, one administrator, one parent, one central office staff person). They visit yearly and make joint oral and written reports and recommendations.

Educational evaluation of innovative programs today is all too often on a "patent medicine testimonial" basis. A pleased parent, teacher, or visitor brags of the successes; the school sweeps the failures under the

rug. Psychologists are trained for scientific, unemotional evaluation. They understand sophisticated statistical comparison techniques, recognize "probable errors" of the difference between two means, are much aware of the multiple causes so difficult to disentangle. If a group on the average makes good gains in school achievement, is that gain due to chance errors of measurement, to natural maturity and growth over the months or years spanned, to teachers of better training, home or empathy, to superior social class background of the children, to intelligence -- or to the educational program? If a group does not make as good progress as hoped, is this due to the fact that the "experimental" and "control" groups were initially unequal in intelligence, age, language ability, personality adjustment -- or to the failure of the teachers to understand and follow through on the philosophy and methods of the experimental program --or to the ineffectiveness of the experimental program itself? Educational research, we all know, has found it very difficult to unsnarl these and other elusive, tangled factors, whether for bi-lingual or for other educational programs. Psychologists by their profession accept a responsibility for helping the school avoid the temptation to use emotional and biased data. They keep searching for hard-nosed data whether the evidence fits their preconceptions or not.

In the USA today under the Nixon business man's administration, the growing demand for factual data on the value of the dollars spent in either innovative or regular programs of education is reaching crescendo. The challenge is a tough one, but cannot be dodged by the schools, and particularly should not be dodged by the psychologist whose training is that of the scientist. Many educators and psychologists take refuge behind the demonstrated facts that the present measurement instruments are inadequate to tap important outcomes of education, but this no longer satisfies their

critics.

Creative thinking and innovation in measurement as well as in clinical techniques and educational planning is the demand of the day. Bi-lingual psychologists have an essential contribution to make, when plans are laid for evaluation of school programs to insure that language handicaps are given full recognition and that better measurement instruments are developed. Theory and philosophy, whether humanistic or behavioristic, Freudian or statistical, suggest the alternatives and the goals, but the measurement psychologist must find new ways to translate those goals into terms about which hard-nosed scientific data can be collected. Otherwise many innovative programs in education and psychology are in danger of being wiped out in favor of traditional and less expensive methodologies.

In the whole area of educational service to, and psychological programs for, Spanish speaking children, there is need for cooperative effort by psychologists from both North and South America. Hopefully the years immediately ahead will see us work together on the solution of problems and the development of effective techniques and materials, first for assistance to the child himself and his sometimes distraught teacher and school -- and beyond that for the application of broader theories of psychology to the development of methods of evaluation we perhaps have not dreamed of as yet.

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